



2013

...

...

.....

"

"

..

"

"

)

...

(

...

...

...

..

.....

	:
1	1-1
2	2-1
2	3-1
3	4-1
3	5-1
4	6-1
5	7-1
5	8-1
	:
6	1-2
7	1-1-2
14	2-2
	:
20	1-3
27	2-3
	/ 11
	:
36	1-4

36		1-1-4
40		2-1-4
44		3-1-4
48		4-1-4
52		2-4
54		1-2-4
57		2-2-4
	:	:
60		1-5
65		1-1-5
67		2-5
68		1-2-5
72		2-2-5
74		3-2-5
75		3-5
77		1-3-5
83		2-3-5
93		3-3-5
102		
103		
107		
108		

12

()

1

2013

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

Abstract
Greater Middle East project and its impact on American foreign policy in the Arab region

Salah Al-mwdyah
Mu'tah University, 2013

This study attempts to analyze the impact of the Greater Middle East on the direction of U.S. foreign policy toward its relations with Arab countries, and their positions on issues of regional Arab and especially the issues of political reform and development, and the Arab-Israeli conflict, and economic reform, and finally the positions of the Arab Spring, which formed a new phase in the directions Arab American commitment to the region

The aim of this study is to analyze political and economic dimensions of the Greater Middle East project and its impact on attitudes of American foreign policy toward the Arab region, where the form of the project in its various dimensions major determinant in American attitudes, which worked, including holdings of the elements of political and economic power and military in order to implement this project for recognizing the importance of the project the achievement of its interests in the region The study highlights the importance of trying to study and analyze the impact of the Greater Middle East project which called for reform and development, political participation and empowerment of women is seen and witnessed the march of Arab political reform on U.S. foreign policy toward the Arab region

Been relying in this study, the approach of systems analysis, where is the concept of the system and the unit of analysis and the system is the interaction between certain units is a collection of elements interconnected and interactive, and the researcher to use the historical method to trace the birth of this concept historically since Western colonialism in this region, in addition to using the curriculum legal to study the legal framework of this concept, in addition to the comparative approach where the system will be the comparison between the Middle East and the Arab system

The findings of the study to many of the results is the most important that the scientific analysis of the future of the American project in the Arab region requires analysis of these five cases, the American project in the region was not affected by a decline indicators of American power, but grew fiercer, with the increasing incidence of decline and retreat in the Arab world, and the prosperity of American interests The real threat does not appear yet in the arena of conflict, as was the case during the Cold War

In light of the findings of the study results, the researcher recommends the following: building the relationship with the United States on the basis of mutual respect and common interests and dialogue among civilizations. And influence on American decision-maker unified Arab stance, taking into account the interests and aspirations of the Arab and aspirations for unity and progress. And to use trade and economic interests as a tool to put pressure on the U.S. policy to stop its alliance with Israel

1-1

“ ” “ ”
(126 :1997)

2001 (26 :1990)

2003

“

”

2-1

:

-1

-2

-3

3-1

2011

4-1

5-1

-1

-2

-3

6-1

: .1

.

2004

.

.

"

:

.2

(59 :2005)."

:

.3

: :

.(Furness, Snyder, 1955: 6)

)

(Modelski, 1962: 6-7) (" "

)

: .(Jonathan, 1985: 110) (

) .(341 :1988)

: .(157 :1985)

:
.(23 :1975)

7-1

.

: **8-1**

.2012-2004

2004

.

1-2

·
(System)

(McClelland, 1961: 412-414) .(Systems Theory)

:

(1)

·
— — (2)

·
(3)

(4)

.

(5)

(1979).

:

1-1-2

.

(Regularities)

.

(Kaplan, 1948: 3-20) .

(McClelland, 1961: 92-99) .

(Mokdeiski, 1961: 121-122) .

(1979):

: -1

.

-2

.

: -3

.

-4

:

.

:

-5

.

:(1979)

-

.

-

.

-

.

-

.

-

.

.

.(141 :1994)

(British Middle East Command)

.(Allied Middle East Supply Center)

.

(Modelski,2005:

.110-115)

:

(27)

(96)

(9)

.

.

(1)

()

2025	2015	2010	2001
68.5	64.1	60.7	55.7
73.2	58.8	47.5	31.5
86.9	82.4	73.6	64.7
68.6	61.8	57.7	50.1
99.0	98.7	98.6	98.5

()

www. Arab-oil-gas.com :

(% 25)

%2

%80

(660)

(700)

(20)

% 85

.(2013) % 66

2001 11

"

(2012)"

.

(2003)

"

"

"

"

11

.(2005) 2001

()

2004 13

.(2011)

" "

"

2004

2004

.(2004)

2004 " "

" " " "

.(2004).2004 "

)

" " (

)

:(2004

.1

.

.2

.

.3

.4

.

.5

: **2-2**

:

：
： (2011)
()

2008-1990

—
"： (2013)
"

...
11： (2008)
)
(

11

11

·
" : (2007)
"

·
." " : (2006)

·
: 2001 11

·
" : (2004)
: "

:

.

" : (2004)

: "

:

:

.

.

" : (2004)

: "

2004

:

.

:

" (International Conference, 2007)

"

"

"

(Nazemoraya, 2006)

"The Project for a New Middle East"

-

:

.

(16 :1990) .

()

.

)

1947

1947 5

"

13

(. " "

(106-105 :1991) .

(2003) .

) .

(2003

1-3

.

1971

(9 :1996) .

.

(126 :1997) .

"

(1995) ."

2001 (11)

.

(58 :2004) .

()

(2005).

: "

:

"

(Samuel, 1997: 28-29)."

-

-

.

.

(79 :2003) :

:

-1

.

(41 :1996) :

.

-

(56 :2005) .

-

2000 (%2.8)

.1990 (%3.4)

2001

(%25)

2020

(%64)

(56 :2005) .

-

(72-71 :2004) .

.

(54 :2005) .

:

-2

1973

.

(126 :1997) .

(127 :1997)

"

1951 () "

.(204 :1990)

: -3

11

"

"

(131 :2005) ."

(134 :2005)

11 .

(93 :1999).

: -4

(95 :1997)

(93 :2004)

2003 —

-16 :2003)

(17

:() -5

(17-16 :2003)

)

.(35 :2002) " " 2002 29 (

.

"

"

—

.(17 :2003)

.

-6

.(82-81 :1992)

/ 11

2-3

:2001

:

: (22 :2003)

(/)

:

()

.

() ()

.

-

-

.

()

:

2003

.

.

:

.

11

：

(15 :1997) .

：

·

·

11

·

·

)

.(

()

2001

11

·

1999

1284

·

."

"

()

"

2002/1/29

2002

" "

:2001)

.(31

2001 /

.

.

— —

(1994-1992) —

)

.(24 :2001

.(33 :2001)

. -

)
(

) (.(2001)

: .

. 2001 11

. 11

-)
(333 :2001

) .(-

—

1994

.

1990

.

.

2001

11

." "

2001

"

"

.

" "

:2001

)

(259-254

.

-

.

2002

.

.

.

2001 11

.

()

1994

)

.

(40)

.(46-45 :2002

∴

.

2001

.

— —

.

15

.

)

19

.(2001

.

(1373)

(150)

(231)

()

()

()

.(49 :2002)

-

.

(13)

-2002

(750)

.

.

2002

.

.(2002)

.

1974

.

2010

2001

2000

- .(5 :2001)

-

() ()

.()

.

:

.) (2002 :50

.

.

1991

.

1995-1991

.(13-12 :1995)

:

1-4

:

1-1-4

: (40-36 :2012)

:

:

—

1971

1946

)

1952

(

.1967

1958

1953

"

"

(Vietnamization)

.(40-36 :2012)

1980

"

1980

"

()

.(2011)

-

1978

—

.(2011)

" "

)
(

) " "

.(38 :2012

:2001 11 :

1998 (1998 1996 1993)

:2001 11 :
 2001 11
 " "

.(PNAC, 1992)

(2002)

" "

"

"

(35 :2005)

-

()

.(40 :2012)

2-1-4

:

-1

.(173 :1996)

-2

:

:

"

" ()

:

:

.

"

"

.(45-44 :1995)

-3

:

.

"

-4

"

.

:

.

" " -5

) : -
:(49 :1996
:-
.

1994

" " :1995) 1994
.(12

:
-
:(156 : 2001)
-1

.
-2

.

-3

.

-4

.

-5

.

.(157: 2001)

-6

)

13

.(80-79 :1994

1996

(139 :1996)

.

-7

.

:

3-1-4

:

-

)

:(169 : 1994

-1

.

-2

"

"

(%65)

()

:1996)

()

.(31

-3

(11734) 1992

(%50) (5144)

.

(68) (11)

(53) (15)

(399)

:1996)

.(170-169

.(163 : 2001)

.

1967

)

.(19 :1996

)

) (

(

.(74 :1994)

-

)

: (54-52 : 1997

.1

.

.2

.

.3

.

.4

.

.5

.

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

()

.

"

:

"

-1

(164 :1995)"

"

.

%65

.(61 :1997)

-2

()

.

-3

(15-13)
(760)

(%14)

(13) 1991 1990
.(167 :2001)

:

4-1-4

"

"

:

: -1

"

" :"

.(10 :1990)

)

(

.(169 :2001)

"

"

.

: -2

"

"

)

.(15 :1995) (

"

"

(....)

...

.(500 :1964)

: -3

()

.(38 :1994)

"

"

"

"

"

"

) 1994:

151-152).

) 2001: (171).

.

- .

1979

" "

) 2001: (172

30

-1

2 - 1991.

13

-2

1993.

26	-	-3
		.1994
(1994)		-4
	(1996)	(1995)
.(1997)		
		2-4
		:

.

-

)
(

.

(36-35 :2012) :

-1

-2

-3

-4

-5

-6

-7

(37 :2012) :

-

-

-

"

"

()

-

.

1-2-4

"

:

.(2007) "

" 11"

:(2007)

. 2002 12 " " .1

. " () .2

2003 11 .3

. 2003/5/21

. 2002 " "	.4
. 2004/2/7	.5
. 2004 " "	.6
. :	.7
. 2004	.8
" "	.9
. 2004/6/9	.10
. 2004/6/18	
. 2004/6/30 " "	.11
"	

" "

" "

"

.

"

"

.

"

"

"

(2012) "

-

" 2003

" "

) "

"

(2006

1975

"

"

.(2006) "

" " 2002

.(2002)

) 2003

:

(-

(Hanson, 2009).

2-2-4

(42 :2012):

-1

)

(

.

-2

.

-3

)

(

"

"

.

-4

"

"

1995

-

"

"

.

-5

.

-6

2003-2002

).

:

(2013

()

.(2011)

-

.(2011)

：

”

” ”

” ”

”
.

.(2007)

1-5

10-8

2004

”

：

”

(170 :2004).

:

"

.

"

.

.2004

.(170 :2004)

:

2002

:

:

2002

: (11 :2004)

:

(1)

.

		(2)
.	" "	
		(3)
.		
.		(4)
.		(5)
		(6)
	:	
		-
.		
		-
.		
.		-
		-
.		
	:	:

(%1.1)

(%15)

.(95 :2005)

: (1)

.

: (2)

.

: :

:

: (1)

.

: (2)

:

"

.(7 :2004) "

.(13-6 :2005)

.

.

.

.

.

.(162-160 :2006)

: :

:

(11 :2004).

1-1-5

“ ”

.

(152 :2004)

.(10 :2004)

.(330 :2005)

“ :

.

:2005) "

.(330

2003

.(10 :2004)

.(11 :2004)

.

—

" "

.(2004)

)

.(13-6 :2005

.(9 :2002)

.(75 :2004)

(CIA)
1973

1953

.(10 :2003)

:

2-5

.

.

1-2-5

".

"

"

"

"

.(2004)

"

"

"

"

:"

.(211 :2003) "

1950

)

.(7 :2004

.

)
.(2006/3/15
Deterring "
"Democracy

.(Chomsky, 1991)
1991
1990

.(Washington Report, 2005: 14)

.(114 :2009)

"

...

"

.

-

"

"

.

.(Chomsky, 1991: 233)"

.(31 :2005)

(2005)

.(211-210 :2005)

)

.(105 :2005

.

.(9 :2004)

2004

2004

(222-220 :2005).

2-2-5

()

):

:

(

):

.

(

):

(

)

.

(207 :2005).

(28 :2005).

(148-146 :2006) .

.

(148-146 :2006) .

(29 :2005).

()
(45 :2006)

:2005) .

(208

(28 :2005).

3-2-5

：

：

：

：

(87-86 :2012) .

-

1989 1967

:

"

"

(87 :2012) .

:

3-5

"Broader Middle East and North Africa 2005" :

.

.

: 2009)

.(101

2001

.

"

"

Wall Street Journal,)

(2002

2003

2003

2006

)"

.(2005

()

() ()

.(Sager, 2005: 23)

National

2003

Endowment For Democracy

"

2006

)

.(2005

"

"

"Forward Strategy of Freedom The Middle East"

" "Middle East Partnership Initiative" ."MEPI"

"

.

300

.

-3 .

-2 .

-1 :

-4 .

2002

(MEPI)

.

%33

2004

.

.

(%70) .

" "

.

.

:(107 : 2009)

:

.

:

.

" "

:

.

.(Wittes & Yerkes, 2004)

"BMENA"

"Forum For the Future"

(G8)

" "

.2003

.

.

"

"For Progress and Common Future Partnership" "

"

"

(Sager, 2005: 25-28) .

(39)

.

.

"

"

"

"

"

.

.

.(Zogby, 2005)

"

"

.

.

.

.

.(116 :2009)

2005

2005

.

.

(%50)

.

(%70)

(%72)

(%80)

(

)

(%36)

.(A.F.P, 2005)

397 2005

"

7

17

) "

.(2005/12/18

316

2006

.

.

.(A.P., 2005)"

.

.

"

.(118 : 2009)

.(La Vanguardia, 7/12/2005)

.2006

:2009)

.(118

2006

.

"

"

.

.

"

" 2006

Christian)

"Dove- tailing"

.(Science Monitor, 2006

2006

.

"

“ — ”

.(Los Angeles Times, 2006)

2-3-5

:

(114-112 :1997) .

:

(42 :2004) .

.

.

.

.

2001 /

.

.

.

.

2001 /

.

(29-28 :2004) .

1995

.

:

.

.

.

.

(2004) .

2001

2001

2001

(Perthes, 2004: 86-87) .1995

-

Perthes,) .

(2004: 87-92

() :

2003

.

(67 :2004) .

(49 :2004) :

.

.

.

.

) .

(76-67 :2004

:

:

2003 2002

(2002).

2004

.

.

(301-297 :2004).

(45 :2004) :

1

.

.

2

.

.

:

.(2004)

.

.

(2004) .

"

"

(2004) : .

.

:

:

2001

.

.2004

"

"

.

.

.

.

.

.

Tamara,) .

(2008

1953

1992

.

" "

2006

(2005) .

.

.

:

4-3-5

(2 :2011).

(3 :2011)

:

.

.

(2 :2011)

) .

(2011

: 2012-2011

(2 :2011) .

.

.

(12 :2011) . 14

(52 :2011) .

(4 :2011) .

2010 (3,1) (

98 (10)
(14 :2011) . 178

2011/3/10

2011

2012

()

2011

(7 :2013) .

2011/1/13

2014

.(2011)

.

)

) (

) (

.(2012) (

:

2010/12/18

2010/12/ 17

)

.(

2011/1/4

2010/12/18

.

.2014

5

) 2011/1/14

.(2013

56

57

2011/1/15

. 60 45

:

2011/1/25

2011/1/25

(6)

» « »

«

"

"

.(5 :2011)

17

2008/4/6

"

"

70

"

"

"

"

2011/2/11

2011/ 2/11

.(2011)

:

2011/1/29

1

- 2/ 5 -

()

25

2

29

15

-

2 -

.

20

-

.(2011)

"

"

.

"

"

.

.

. 29

)

(

"

18

"

.(5 :2011)"

"

2003

2001

2006

2009

2008

.2011

(2012 - 2011)

2011

2010

.(5 :2011)

.(2011)

.

.(42 :2011)

:

:

.

.

:

:

.

.2003

.

.

.

.

2001 /

"

"

.

.

.

.

.

	.	:	
:			.1
	.		.2
.			.3
.	.		.4
.			.5
	.		

:
 :
 -
 .(1996)
 .
11 (2005)
 :
 :
 " (2004)
 .158 40 "
 " (1997)
 . 127 33 "
 .(1994)
 .
 .(1990)
 .
 (1985)
 .
 : .(2011)
 .46 185
 .(1995)
 . 1
 .(2001)
 .
 " .(2002)
 .88 8

.(1991)

.(1990)

"

" (2004)

.13 4

(1988)

(1979)

"

" (2004)

.13 4

:

.(1964) .

()

"

" (2004)

.13 4

:

.(1995)

:

.(2005)

:

()

.

:

(2005)

.(2011)

.http://bafree.net/alhisn/showthread :

.(2012)

.http://www.albasrah.net :

.(2011)

.www.ahewar.org : (3291)

" (2005)

http://www.alkashif.org :

.(2011)

.2011/6/14 www.aljazeera.net :

2011 .(2011)

.sootalmwatn.org.:

: .(2003)

http://www.islamonline.net :

: .(2013)

.7 http://kolenaarab.blogspot.com

: .(2011)

.2011/3/20 www.al-r0wad.com

.(2011)

.http://www.al-tagheer.com :

.(2011)

.<http://www.maatpeace.org> :

.(2011)

.5 12799 : 1/31

: " (2004)

: 127 "

.<http://www.mafboum.com>

: .(2011)

.<http://www.alittihad.ae>

: .(2005)

<http://www.jimsyr.com> :

<http://www.arab-hdr.org/arabic> :

<http://ftp.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast> :

(2009)

. : **2009**

: (2013)

<http://digital.ahram.org.eg> :

.(2004)

.

.(2004)

.

(2005)

.2005/12/18

.(2004)
 .
 (2011)
 :
<http://yafacenter.com>
 (2007)
<http://www.ahewar.org> :
 1862 :
 .(2002)
 .
 .(2003)
 .
 (2004)
 (2005)
 .(157)
 .(2005)
 .122
 .(1994)
 . 190
 – 134 .(2006)
 .
 : .(2006)
 .134
 .(1995)
 .8/7

.(2004)
 . (27) (306)
 : (2005)
 .122
 - " (1983)
 . - 1 - **1973 – 1967**
 : .(2005)
 .(153)
 : .(1994)
 . 106
 .(2009)
 - - " "
 .(103)
 .(1997)
 . (32) (127)
 .(1996)
 .1996 4
 .(1994)
 . 98
 .(2006)
 .163
 .(2004)
 . (157)

.(1997)
 . 126 (32) (127)
 .(1997)
 44
 . /
 .(2005)
 .(2000 -1990)
 .
 .(1997)
 .(32) (127)
 .
 .(1999)
 . (84)
 .(2001)
 .
 : .(1994)
 .141 (80)
 .(1996)
 ()
 .173
 - .(2003) " "
 2000 -1990
 .(17-16)

: (1996)
 .209
 (2003)
 . (26) (291)
 : (1995)
 .1995 4 3
 :
 :2002
 :)
 (2002
 :2003
 .(2003 :)
 8 (2004) " "
 .
 (1997)
 .1992 4
 (2012)
 .35 2012
 . (2009)
 " " (2004)
 .(/) 156 40 :
 :
 Chomsky, Naom (1991). **Deterring Democracy**, New York, London, verso.
 Christian Science Monitor,(2006) **U.S dial back the volume on Democracy**,
 March 8.

- Leneowski, George, (1975). Political Elite sin the Middle East, Washington. D.C: **American Enterprise Institute**, P. 82.
- Sager, Abdulaziz (2005). **Political Reforms Measures: From A Domestic GCC Perspectives**, Gulf Research Center, Dubai.
- Samuclp.Humtiington (1997). "the Erosion of American National Interest" **Porcign Affairs**.vol.76, No, 5.p.28-29.
- Tamara Cofman Wittes, (2008) **Freedom's Unsteady March: America's Role in Building Arab Democracy** (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press)
- Dick Cheney, (1992) **The PNAC agenda and its impact on the Bush Foreign Policy**. Its roots lie in the infamous 1992 defense planning guidance report (DPG) who was then secretary of defence. It was supervised by paul wolfowitz, then under secretary of defense for policy.
- Victor Davis Hanson, Democracy in the Middle east: It's the hardheaded, Solution, **Weekly Standard**, Vol. 8, Issue 6, 21 October 2002.
- Volker Perthes, «America's Greater Middle East and Europe: Key Issues for Dialogue,» **Middle East Policy**, vol. 11, no. 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 86-87.
- Wittes, Tamara Coffman & Yerkes, Sarah (2004). The Middle East Partnership Initiative, Progress, Problems, and Prospects, (Saban Center, **Middle east memo** 5, November 29, 2004.
- Zogby, Telhami (2005). Arab Survey: Arab Attitudes Towards Political and Social Issues, **Foreign Policy and the Media**, December 2005.
- Edgar Furness and R. snyder (1955) **an Introduction to American Foreign policy**, New York, Rinehart.
- George Modelski: (1962) **A Theory of Foreign policy**, New York, Prager.
- Jonathan WilkenFeld ET, (1985) **Foreign policy Behavior**, Beverly Hills: Sage.
- the Middle East (2005) **Washington Report** , May/ June.